

"A Mousoleum for a Flie":

Sidney Montagu and the Sacramental Sign

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[T]he bodies of Flies, Pismires, and the like, which are said oft-times to be included in Amber, are not real but representative. If so . . . Cardans Mousoleum for a Flie [is] a meer phansie. But hereunto we know not how to assent, as having met with some whose reals made good their representments.

- Sir Thomas Browne¹

Introduction: An archaeology of belief

In Simon Gunton's harrowing account of the destruction of Peterborough Cathedral by Cromwell's troops in 1643, the divine influence of consecration ensures the miraculous preservation of some artifacts and avenges the destruction of others. Within a catalogue of iconoclastic loss and ruin, Gunton describes one such recovery. When the high altar was demolished because of its "Popery, and superstition," Gunton writes, "there was some good from that evil." Two ancient chests were unearthed, each containing "the Bones of a man" and "a plate of lead whereon the name of a person was engraven."²

The cathedral of Gunton's history is a resilient, ever-changing, polychronic space;³ a monument, like other Church of England buildings, to the long-suffering body of the English faithful enduring the Reformation. The anxieties traversing this turbulent era toward sacred objects and spaces pervade the early-Elizabethan Homyly agaynst peryll of Idolatry, which treats laypeople alternately as sheep easily led or misled by clergy, and as wolves liable to ravage the fabric of the church. "Divers colours enticeth the ignorant,"⁴ and parishioners, bedazzled and perplexed by idols, may further be ushered into "the pit of dampnable Idolatry" by bishops, "blynded by the bewitching of Images, lyke blynde guides of the blynde" (61). Yet over-zealous iconoclasts must also be suppressed, "leste private persons uppon colour of destroying of Images" undertake "the redresse of suche publique enormities [that] appertayneth to the Magistrates, and suche as be in auctoritie onlye" (19).

The Homyly's conflicted approaches to vision and blindness, at once revealing the dangers of idolatry and concealing the violence of iconoclasm, and to pastoral care and censure reflect the period's changing views of the rites and sites of worship. The laity had been remote witnesses to the Catholic Mass, conducted behind rood screens that divided the chancel from the nave. The reformed liturgy, by contrast, viewed the congregation as a community of like-minded souls. With words rather than

images (Figure 1), church interiors encouraged religious fellowship and conformity.⁵ Richard Hooker's Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie defines Anglican churches as public places whose architecture and fabric are suited to communal worship. "It behooveth that the place where God should be served by the whole Church," he writes, "be a publique place, for the avoiding of privie conventicles, which covered with pretense of religion, may serve unto dangerous practices."⁶ As the altar was replaced by "the Lord's board,"⁷ around which parishioners took Communion together, the chancel was reconceived, from "privie conventicle" to "communion room."⁸

Collectively, post-Reformation church buildings were the site of an archaeology of belief, where discarded materials and mysteries were recovered and redeployed. For high churchmen like Hooker, the return of repudiated practices, images, and objects threatened to cloud the common understanding, leaving parishioners as perplexed, vulnerable, and volatile as the Homyly had portrayed them decades earlier. The poison of "privie conventicles" lay not in unorthodox practices per se, but in breeding suspicion of "those actions, which," according to Hooker, "in them selves [are] holy" (20). Mindful of "how dull, how heavie & almost how without sense the greatest part of the common multitude everie where is" (183), Hooker retrieves

abandoned ceremonies with a subtlety that may have escaped the laity:

Not therefore whatsoever idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done idolatrously, be so farre-forth abhorred. For of that which is good even in evill things God is author. (22)

The discretionary eye, capable of seeing God's authorship of the good in evil things, glosses providential recoveries of sacred things preserved against all odds, like the chests unearthed at Peterborough. A discovery in St. Anne's Blackfriars after the Great Fire confirmed, in Gunton's words, that "there was some good from that evil," while the careers of these artifacts map the shifting course of post-Reformation belief. In the cellar, workmen found "a kind of Cupboard" where four pewter pots contained "four humane Heads, unconsumed, preserved, as it seems, by Art." John Strype examined one of these caskets and surmised that the heads were those of "some zealous Priests or Friars, executed . . . for denying the King's [Henry VIII's] Supremacy." The artifacts were sold and, Strype speculates, "conveyed abroad; and now become Holy Relicks."⁹

The monument erected by Sir Sidney Montagu in the parish church of Barnwell All Saints following his son's death in 1625 (Figure 2) is an object preserved against all odds. The reformed conversion of chancels into sites for communal worship often

meant that funeral monuments installed in those desirable locations were dismantled and moved.¹⁰ The chancel housing the tomb of three-year-old Henry Montagu, though, was spared when the congregation merged with that of nearby St. Andrew's in 1821 and All Saints was pulled down four years later.¹¹ In the remains of the church today--a small, intimate setting appropriate for a toddler's tomb--an alabaster obelisk rises above Henry Montagu's erect effigy. Two additional elements of the memorial program are entombed behind unmarked wood panels (Figure 3). In one cupboard is a thirteenth-century piscina (Figure 4), a sink for washing the Communion vessels. A second cupboard contains a painted wooden box bearing the word "Posteris"--to Posterity--in gold lettering (Figure 5). This triptych opens to reveal painted interior wings (Figure 6) and, mounted on the back panel, a single manuscript sheet entitled "Upon the Birth and death of his deere sonne, Henry Mountagu, S^r Sidney Mountagu, Knight, Anno Dⁿⁱ 1627" (Figure 7).

Approaching the Barnwell memorial as both a product of and an artifact within the chancel's archaeology of belief, this study advances the current critical project of accommodating "the return of religion."¹² Adapting Quentin Skinner's metaphor of the historian as "a kind of archaeologist,"¹³ I excavate and transcribe a repertoire of religious beliefs embedded in Montagu's memorial objects. This recovery of an unknown child's

slight tomb--a study that is itself a mausoleum for a fly-- reveals "how theology gets 'incarnated'"¹⁴ in a specific moment of local and national religious definition. It is symptomatic of our critical tendency to subsume religious difference within secular familiarity that current observers, centuries later, so easily comprehend projects such as Montagu's. His memorial is recognizable, even mundane: building a monument to paternal fondness, Montagu remembers the life and mourns the death of "a wittie and hopeful child, tender and deere in the sight of his parents."¹⁵

Yet our ease with the project's sentiment should not obscure the temporal strangeness of its encounter with the "reservoir of foundational stories, tropes, and exegetical habits" that Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton see as characteristic of "religion not fully reducible to culture." "Not only an element in culture," they argue, religion "instantiates discourses of value that aim to transcend culture, by creating trans-group alliances and affiliations around shared narratives, commandments, and principles."¹⁶ Montagu reaches backward to root his monumental matter in sacred images and objects shaped by New Testament faith, and forward to embed his son's memory in the corporate body of the perpetual Church. Considered on its own terms, his project demonstrates how, for post-Reformation men and women, "narratives and memories of 'the time-bound and

material world' "--the tragic drowning of a three-year-old boy-- could "be ordered toward and around . . . the sacramental sign."¹⁷

Montagu's memorial exploits the interplay of revelation and concealment and of private and communal worship emergent in post-Reformation ideas of the sacraments and the sacred spaces where they were celebrated. Although the Barnwell piscina and manuscript box, two of the three objects assembled to commemorate Henry Montagu, were sequestered decades after the program's installation,¹⁸ Montagu embraced these themes, first, by investing memorial artifacts with the qualities attributed to the Protestant sacraments, and, secondly, by developing and defending a private idolatry--"superstition," variously inflected by post-Reformation beliefs--in which secular objects acquire the aura of the sacred.

The first section of this article explores the Barnwell monument's engagement with a high church view of the sacraments as "signe[s] of remembrance" (Hooker, Lawes 158)¹⁹ to evade idolatry with a discretionary insight capable of perceiving essential grace within the sacred object. Creating a "dead and dombe Image" (Homyly 42v) of his son, Montagu laments a profound loss. Yet he agrees with Hooker that "as the soule doth organise the body, so the inward grace of the sacraments may teacheth

what serveth best for their outward form" (128), and bends this belief toward commemoration.

In the second section, I focus on Montagu's manuscript box, describing his turn from the sacramental to the superstitious in this object as typical of the way religious faith and personal belief bleed into each other as sacred objects, images, and practices move into secular spheres. Locating remembrance between privacy and community, Montagu's memory box suggests how, in the larger polity, ecclesiastical, spiritual, and political identities are constituted around sacred objects and their secular shadows.

By negotiating the sacred object in the act of commemoration, Montagu "make[s] good his representment" of his son's brief incarnation with his "real": divine grace embodied in the incarnate savior. In the imagery of his memorial, erected in the Communion room at Barnwell, two fallen sons—one real, the other representative—are remembered and resurrected by loving fathers.

1. The cranie of the eye

Simon Gunton recounts an episode during the destruction of Peterborough Cathedral that illustrates the centrality of vision not only to idolatry but also to iconoclasm. Seeing "the Picture of our Saviour seated on a Throne," several soldiers, crying,

"This is the Idol they worship and adore," ruined the image with musket fire. "A common Fame" followed: it was rumored that by "divine Vengeance," "one was struck blind upon the place by a Re-bound of his Bullet" and "another dyed mad a little after." Gunton cannot confirm the report, however; he is sure only of "the judgment . . . of a mad blind Zeal, wherewith these persons were certainly possest."²⁰ When the soldiers exchange the "blynde zeal" of idolatry (Homyly 28) for the "mad blind Zeal" of iconoclasm, their reputed punishment is to suffer the literal loss of sight and sense that their violence metaphorically enacts. Gunton's earnest, but failed, attempt to find proof of this judgment responds to the potential, equivocal power of the sacred image whose supposed impotence prompts the soldiers' attack.

Nearly a century after the Elizabethan Homyly agaynst peryll of Idolatry was introduced at the pulpit and in print, the essence of sacred images and objects remained mysterious, and their efficacy continued to be contested. When Hooker defends the use of "things indifferent"²¹ in worship, he revives ceremonial practice by asserting God's authorship "of that which is good even in evill things" (22). Discretionary insight by clergymen, if not parishioners, is needed to recognize the value of solemnities, including those wrongly rejected as idolatrous. The early Elizabethan effort to shift proscriptions on idols

from object to subject--from "filthy and dead images" to the banished behavior of image-worship, "though [images] be of themselves things indifferent" (Homyly 21)--sought to sever the potent link between essence and matter in Catholic sacraments and images.²² Yet the assumed power of sacred objects lingered well after their repudiation. While the Homyly asserts that images are not "wicked of them selves" (65), it vexes all images displayed in sacred sites:²³ "As a shadowe foloweth the bodye when the sunne shyneth, so Idolatry foloweth and cleaveth to the publique hanging of Images in Churches and Temples" (65-65v). The idolater's love affair with the object recasts the Christian body, "the lively ymage of God" (21), as an effigy of the beloved. So strong is the sway of this desire to animate the dead object that the Homyly, citing "the .8. Chapter in the Booke of Wysdome," locates the origin of idolatry in "a blinde love of a fond father, framing for his comfort an Image of his sonne, being dead, so at the last men fell to the worshipping of the Image of him whom they did know to bee dead" (66).²⁴

While idolaters err in deifying images and objects, iconoclasts commit a similar offence. Their violence is not directed toward benign objects, but toward those whose potency--albeit more representative than real--must be utterly overthrown. The iconoclast responds to the object's power with open force or parodic inversion: in Yaxley, Gunton reports,

soldiers "break open the Church doors, piss in the Font, and then baptize a horse and mare, using the solemn words of Baptism, and signing them with the sign of the cross."²⁵ "False feigned" monuments,²⁶ whose likenesses suggest an occult connection between living subject and dead object, were equally vulnerable to attack. Sir Humphrey Orme:

outlived his own Monument, and lived to see him self carried in Effigie on a souldiers back, to the publick Market-place, there to be sported withal, a Crew of Souldiers going before in procession, some with Surplices, some with Organ pipes, to make up the solemnity.²⁷

The site of these interactions between subject and object is "the cranie of the eye," as Richard Brathwait calls it; a material threshold where the rays emitted by the eye mingle with those emitted by the object.²⁸ "There is no passage more easie for the entry of vice," Brathwait warns of bodily vision, distinguishing it from spiritual insight: "It is against reason, that the greater light should be extinguished by the lesser; the eye of the soule, by the eye of the bodie."²⁹ The overcoming of this greater light by the lesser is the unschooled passion that precipitates idolatry. "To desyre an Image of God commeth of infidelitie," the Homyly teaches, "thynking not God to be present except they might see some signe or ymage of him" (43).

Idolatry is a symptom of the faulty, credulous eye that fondly mistakes the dead image for the living God.

The Barnwell monument is informed by the Anglican discourse of idolatry, at whose center is the distracted eye, easily taken in by surfaces, suffering a metamorphopsia that amounts to "the blyndnes of false superstition" (Homyly 36v). Henry Montagu's effigy--a life-sized portrait of a lovely boy--is one such surface. His son's image threatens to possess Montagu's eye and obstruct his view, preventing him from seeing beyond the body buried beneath the tomb. Read in this way, the tomb is merely a monument to the lost body, one that finds a poignant counterpart in the "Urne" figured by Montagu's brother, Henry Montagu, Earl of Manchester, in response to his son's conversion to Catholicism. "[Your] Letter I take into my hands," Manchester writes to his son, "as he did the Urne of his sonnes ashes to shed over it veras lachrymas." If the beam in Montagu's eye is a father's idolatrous longing for his son's dead flesh, the mote blurring Manchester's vision is a father's knowledge of the death of his son's immortal soul, the irrevocable surrender of a "lost child."³⁰

In another text, however, Montagu achieves something of his brother's spiritual insight. "Idolatry hath a kinde of necessary dependence upon the eie," George Hakewill affirms in his Vanitie of the Eie, a treatise "first beganne for the Comfort of a

Gentlewoman bereaved of her sight.”³¹ Montagu, too, presented a manuscript meditation, “Valida Consolatio” (Figure 8) to his mother, Elizabeth Harington Montagu, on New Year’s Day, 1613, offering “a cordiall for th[e] common disease” of despair (2) and specific consolation for his mother’s blindness (Figure 9).³² Montagu’s cordial casts the body and its senses as “things indifferent” when measured against the spiritual insight that affords true comfort: “But in the want or privation of the outward thinges or outward senses consists neither miseries nor consolation,” he assures his mother, since “you have the inward sight of light of the soule, you have attained this stronge Consolacion” (3).

To illustrate this consolation grounded in the “inward sight of light,” Montagu turns to an Old Testament episode that condenses the themes of blindness and insight in the context of idolatry:

If wee had all the pleasures and happiness that this life could afforde. . . yet we were but miserable whensoever wee remembered the hand writing before Belshazzar, mene mene tekell eupharsin, that our daies were nombred, that our joys should have an end, here was a discomfort enough to make every joint of us to tremble in our greatest joletie. (8-8v)

The disembodied finger that writes on Belshazzar’s palace wall (Daniel 5:5) is a sign that urges and illustrates discretionary

insight. The script is a material witness to Belshazzar's iconoclastic removal of golden vessels from the temple of Jerusalem to furnish his feast, where he and his guests idolatrously toast "gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know" (Daniel 5:18). This menacing apparition, undeniably material--written "over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall" (Daniel 5:5)--repays Belshazzar's deadening acts of iconoclasm and idolatry by foretelling the death which he (knowingly) has earned. When the court astrologers cannot decipher the text, Daniel's "light and understanding and excellent wisdom" easily penetrates the intractable figure, revealing it as a token of what Belshazzar already knows: "thou knewest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven" (Daniel 5:14, 21-22).

Adapting the Old Testament text to his handbook of Christian comfort, Montagu encourages his mother to allay her sorrow by reading with spiritual insight the text inscribed on her heart; to recognize in Daniel's typological inward light her own "inward sight of light." For Montagu, this sacred sign is above all a sign of remembrance: its implicit power becomes explicit in Daniel's interpretation. In exchange for Belshazzar's false comfort, the proceeds of the bodily eye, Montagu posits true consolation as the certainty of salvation

lodged in the mind's eye as it recalls and meditates on God's scripted word.

The Barnwell monument embeds this notion of inward sight, replacing the blind eyes of the dead effigy with the corporal trace of divinity, the "lively ymage of God" (Homyly 21), that the object remembers. Although the eyes of Henry Montagu's effigy are now vacant, they were originally painted, alert and forward-looking, to enhance the liveliness of the lifeless figure.³³ The apparent idolatry in the painted face, whether living or dead, condemned effigies as counterfeits: when the Homyly complains, "as lyttle gyrles playe with lyttle puppettes, so be these decked Images greate puppettes for olde fooles to playe with" (77v), it is hard not to see Henry Montagu's effigy as a doll, animated to provide his grieving father an imitation of life. "Valida Consolatio," however, glosses Montagu's project at Barnwell by endorsing the spiritual insight that translates loss to gain, corruptible flesh to sainthood. The effigy's blind eyes invite an enlightened, devout discernment able to see the good that proceeds from evil things, whether a mother's blindness or a son's premature death. Approached with an understanding of monuments as signs of remembrance which "may with choice and discretion be used" (Hooker, Lawes 162), the effigy is not a portrait of loss, but an emblem of salvation.

Around this emblem, an allusive iconography transforms the child's death from tragedy to comedy. In the central register (Figure 10), Henry's effigy stands on a base embellished with waves, recalling the boy's death by drowning and figuring his salvation through Baptism. He holds a scroll whose motto, "Lord, give me of that water," quotes the Samaritan woman's request for living water in John 4:15. Below the effigy's feet is a gold bowl, described by Nikolaus Pevsner as "the opening of a village pump,"³⁴ encircled by a paraphrase of Psalm 51:12, "Poure on me the joy of thy salvation." The final iconographical elements appear on either side of this object, also amid the waters: a large, disembodied foot is carved on either side of the pedestal, the first inscribed, "Not my feet only," and the second continuing the quotation from John 13:9, "But also my hands and head" (Figure 11). The inscriptions allude to the pedilavium, the Gospel episode in which Jesus washes the disciples' feet at the Last Supper. When Peter refuses to allow Jesus to perform this servile act, he learns that cleansing is a condition of salvation, and insists, over-zealously, that his hands and head should also be washed.

The saint's disembodied feet give material form to the interaction of body and spirit, sight and insight, within the transformational processes of religion and remembrance. They interrogate and finally validate the use of monumental effigies

as prompts to memory. Alluding to the pedilavium, they recall the incarnate savior on whose words and actions the sacraments and rites of the church are modeled. As such, the feet are both emblematic and effigial, calling to mind the absent-present body of Christ in the precise moment when the water of the pedilavium becomes the spiritual water of Baptism ("If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," Jesus tells Peter in John 13:8) and the bread and wine of the Last Supper become, for the first time, the sanctified body of Christ in the Eucharist.

Memorializing his son, Montagu's monument also commemorates the Son of God, whose humanity substantiates the tomb containing the material remnant of Henry Montagu's brief incarnation.

St. Peter's sculpted feet continue the monument's iconography of salvation by water, and introduce a doctrinal debate which, for parents in post-Reformation England, was a matter of life and death. Reformed exegeses of the pedilavium saw its central image as figuring carnal sin. Calvin explains, "all the affections and cares, which are worldly, are called the feete metaphorycallye,"³⁵ while Miles Coverdale equates the "spottes and blemishes of sinne" with "our feet (that is to say, our affections & desires) . . . continually defiled and stayned."³⁶ These telling feet, accordingly, implicate even the "tender and deere" three-year-old mourned at Barnwell: as Calvin reminds us, the pedilavium demonstrates above all that Peter (and all

mankind) "was wholly polluted naturally with filthines."³⁷ St. Peter's feet recall the carnal spots of original sin that stain even the most innocent child.

This image extends the monument's meditation on Baptism by engaging the Reformation debate on the status of the sacrament as a prerequisite to salvation. For Protestants, neither of the two sacraments conferred grace in itself, since "the grace of God [is not] so tied to the materiall Elements, that hee cannot save without them."³⁸ William Hubbock exclaims, "the Popish Church hath [the] error . . . that children, infants, innocents, if they dye without Baptisme, they are damned. O cruell sentence, and bloudie decree."³⁹ Hooker agrees: since "grace is not absolutely tied to sacraments . . . [God] will not deprive them of inward grace because necessity depriveth them of outward sacraments" (135). Beneath the inscription, "Anonymus & Richard," twin brothers embracing forever on their parents' tomb (Figure 12) embody this faith in Baptism and hope of God's mercy: one was baptized and christened before his death, the other was not, but both are assumed to have been saved.

Henry Montagu certainly was baptized as an infant, and baptized again in the pond that took his life. Yet the contested status of the sacrament permeates his memorial. When George Jay invokes Belshazzar in his funeral sermon for three-year-old Mary Villiers, he expresses the notional link between the dead

objects of idolatry and the death sentence of original sin, here evaded by a child who "baptized her selfe with her owne teares." Looking on her corpse, "wee should stand all like Belshazzar when hee saw the hand-writing upon the wal . . . to think upon this harmelesse innocent, that here hath suffered for one sinne, and that sin none of her owne."⁴⁰ The saturation of Montagu's monument with the imagery of Baptism responds to the hollow materiality of objects severed from divine presence. God is not confined to mere matter, and the water of Baptism cannot, in itself, confer grace. Water, as base matter, is a swollen pond where a toddler's lifeless body floats; a vacancy that asserts, with the iconoclast, the impotence of rites and things. Yet Montagu's program hopes to infuse monumental stone with the essence of its subject and with the image, if not the fact, of spiritual power. The child depicted on the tomb, standing like a saint in his niche, is the resurrected Henry Montagu, seeming--like his Savior--to walk on water. The refashioning of the dead flesh as an alabaster saint is an emblem of the soul's transformation from sin to salvation in the complementary sacraments of Baptism and Communion. The effigy is the tangible remnant of an invisible presence and grace perceived only by the mind's eye.

The apparent inspiration for this merger of the two sacraments in the monument's iconography is the piscina

installed near the altar at Barnwell (Figure 4), an object whose shape, function, and dimensions suggest its incorporation into Montagu's memorial program.⁴¹ A focal point for rival views of the sanctity of the sacraments' material remains, this sacred sink draining into the consecrated ground of the churchyard was provided for washing the Communion vessels and disposing of baptismal water. While piscinae were commonly used in the Catholic mass, post-Reformation usage is less certain: not until 1662 does The Book of Common Prayer distinguish between the disposal of consecrated and unconsecrated bread and wine,"⁴² and the lack of uniformity in Church of England services in the period make it difficult to know whether the piscina at Barnwell was in use when Montagu erected his monument nearby.

What is clear, however, is that the piscina is a monument in its own right, set within the chancel's archaeology of belief, inviting Montagu to recover and redeploy this relic in commemorating his son. By association with the biblical pools that share its name, the piscina recalls the union of essence and matter in the body of Christ. "In thys fontaygne," the Legend aurea explains of the curative pool at Bethesda, "is lyvyng water . . . that the samarytane requyred of our lord to have of the holy pecyne."⁴³ The water of the piscina at Barnwell is, notionally, the water of salvation to which the motto in the effigy's hand alludes. Clearly the gold bowl depicted on the

monument is an accessory of the baptismal font and the piscina, both located nearby. Montagu's monument, like the piscina, asserts the cooperation of Baptism and Communion in the drama of salvation, and attempts the merger of essence and object of which the piscina is a sign. Embedding this pre-Reformation belief within a post-Reformation defense of spiritual insight--an argument for the discretionary eye, capable of retrieving the good in repudiated rites and objects--the Barnwell monument gives shape to paternal grief in a fond icon that stops just short of idolatry.

2. Dumb ceremonies, silent rites

In imitation of Christ, English monarchs from Henry VII to James II, including the two whom Sidney Montagu served as Master of Requests, performed an annual pedilavium, the Royal Maundy, ceremonially washing the feet of poor subjects on Maundy Thursday (Figure 13). This commemoration of the events of the Last Supper derived its name from the mandatum, the "new commandment" given by Christ on that occasion, "that ye love one another; as I have loved you" (John 13:34).⁴⁴ The rite's associations with sacramental matter were implicit, and worries about its apparent Catholicism were often voiced after the Reformation. An observer of Elizabeth's Royal Maundy in 1565 reported, "After she had washed the poor women's feet, she

deliberately traced a very large and well-defined cross and kissed it, to the sorrow of many persons who witnessed it and of others who would not attend the ceremony, but to the joy of others."⁴⁵

For those who found the spectacle sorrowful, the queen's crossing the poor women's feet came close to an idolatrous worship of the "signe or ymage" of God (Homyly 43), an illicit materialization of the sacred with which the Barnwell monument also struggles. At this early moment in the Elizabethan Settlement, those who greeted the act with joy may have hoped to see a resurgence of Catholicism, evidence of which was also found in the queen's chapel and the retention of Marian ceremonies in her churches. Elizabeth's ambassador to France, Sir Thomas Hoby, recorded in 1566 a French schoolmaster's observation that Anglican services use "alters, organes, crosses, copes, surplices . . . contrarie to the maner of all reformed Churches," and, more disturbingly, that "your queene doest maintaine in despite of all your reformed ministers suche thinges which men tearme abuses of the Churche of Roome." "The crosse, alter, and organe be alwaies in the accustomed place in your Queenes chappell," he claimed, "which must needes argue a chaunge shortly within your Realme."⁴⁶ When Hoby writes to Queen Elizabeth the same day, his reformed fervor is very much on show. The French king's following "an Idoll on foote, carried in

the Bishoppes hands under a canopie about the Citie . . . seemed not altogether unpunished at Goodes hands" when news arrived that in Pamiers, "there were slaine by the Protestants in their defense CCC Papists at the least." Hoby concludes by wishing the queen "a longe and most prosperous raigne to the maintenance of the good and godlie and rooting out of all superstition and Idolatrie."⁴⁷

As Hoby's foreign observations imply, sacred objects and rites in the hands of the ruling elite bore profoundly political meanings, borrowing familiar supports from religious practice for performances of statecraft. Hooker's first principle, of course, in his Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie is that "Religion . . . is the stay of all wel ordered common-wealths." "Let Politie," accordingly, "acknowledge it selfe indebted to religion" (1-2). Hoby's parable of the massacre at Pamiers, moreover, demonstrates that when sacred matters bleed into secular affairs, faith and superstition are two sides of the same coin. The Royal Maundy and the ritual of the King's Touch, by which anointed monarchs were believed to cure scrofula, were conducted with elaborate ceremony, particularly during Elizabeth's reign when the pressures of religious instability and the queen's femininity required her to assert her identity as "God's substitute."⁴⁸ Despite the monarch's assumption of Christ-like humility in the Maundy, however, the ritual

ultimately underwrote "the maintenance of power and the class distinctions the original mandatum of Jesus sought to erase."⁴⁹ The poor women's feet were washed with sweet water by no less than three court officers prior to the queen's kneeling to wash, cross, and kiss them.⁵⁰ Lacking the theatrical talents of his predecessor, James reluctantly but pragmatically continued to perform both the Royal Maundy and the King's Touch, but refused to make the sign of the cross. "He says that neither he nor any other King can have power to heal scrofula," the Venetian secretary wrote, "for the age of miracles has past. . . . However, he will have the full ceremony, so as not to lose this prerogative, which belongs to the Kings of England."⁵¹ If performances of sacred kingship displayed secular power and wealth, some subjects approached them with a mixture of faith and pragmatism akin to the monarch's. A maid healed by Elizabeth's touch was compelled to sell the gold angel she wore as a token of the miracle, "yet she remained well."⁵² The lingering presence of the sacred sign, the healing hand, remained as a permanent mark on her flesh despite the loss of its material emblem.

The political alliance of pragmatism and belief had a troubled legacy following Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries, which decimated religious houses and razed monuments to create a generation of newly-made men--among them,

Thomas Hoby's half-brother Philip and Sidney Montagu's father, Edward--who received former monastic properties as private holdings.⁵³ If the Royal Maundy and King's Touch occupied one extreme on the spectrum of faith and pragmatism attending post-Reformation sovereignty, the dispensation of the king's "Justice and Grace" occupied the other.⁵⁴ Sidney Montagu played a central part in this process as one of four Masters of Requests serving first James and then Charles.⁵⁵ The Masters were officers of the Court of Requests, but their primary role was to accompany the king to receive requests from petitioners.⁵⁶ After several stages of triage, petitions were presented in periodic audiences during which the Master, "remain[ed] on his knees as representing the subject petitioning the king."⁵⁷ Conversely, the Master represented the monarch to petitioners, performing the royal will either by letter or with the king's seal. Despite this bureaucratic assembly line, an aura of divine right surrounded the bestowal of royal favor. In Basilikon doron, James advises Prince Henry:

be in your giving accesse so open and affable to every ranke of honest persons . . . to make their own sute to you themselves, and not to employ the great Lords their intercessours: for intercession to Saints is Papistry.⁵⁸

In James's Protestant fiction of direct access, royal will becomes divine.

To minds less absolute than Hoby's, the sights and rites of sacred kingship were equivocal, requiring a discretionary eye, and quotidian ceremonies often involved secular tokens that seemed endowed with the power of the sacred object. Hooker equates the operations of sacred and secular rites by recalling the domestic pedilavium performed by the woman in Luke 7 who washes Jesus's feet with her tears:

Wherefore the usuall dumb Ceremonies of common life are in request or dislike according to that they import, even so religion having likewise her silent rites, the chiefest rule whereby to judge of their qualitie is that which they meane or betoken. (158-59)

In this alignment of the dumb ceremonies of common life with religion's silent rites, the ambiguous sign--sacred and secular, partaking equally of faith and superstition--hovers between the material token and its memorial trace. It is this sign that the memory box at Barnwell adopts, interrogates, and finally adores.

While the alabaster monument at Barnwell is informed by the sacramental features of the piscina, the third component of the memorial program, Sidney Montagu's manuscript "upon the Birth and death of his deere sonne," responds to the secular imagery on the monument's obelisk. When Henry Montagu drowned, his death was catastrophic since it signaled a rupture in dynastic succession. Yet this crisis was short-lived: before Henry's

monument was finished in August 1626, Paulina Pepys Montagu had given birth to a second son who would survive his father, eventually becoming the 1st Earl of Sandwich. The texts of Montagu's monument record this, diverting dynastic concerns toward personal sorrow and loss:

Here under lyeth	third daught ^r of John
interr ^{ed} Henry Montagu,	Pepys of Cottonham
Esq., Y ^{en} onely sonne of	in y ^e County of Cambridg ^e .
S ^r Sidney Mo ^u ntagu, K ^t :	Esq.: A wittie & hope=
(one of y ^e Masters of	full child, tender &
Requests to y ^e Ma ^t ies	deere in y ^e sight of
of King James) and	his parents & much
King Charles) and of	lament ^{ed} of his freinds.
Dame Paulina his wife	

The inscription is remarkable in noting that the child was then, briefly, Montagu's only son. With dynastic continuity restored, the epitaph attends instead to the devastation of "freinds." The manuscript, however, unfolds the obelisk's heraldry to script the child's genealogy. "The coates [of] Armes over the Childes Statua," Montagu explains, "are his Ancestores of the fathers side ascent and theire Matches. The coate first in ascent from the Statua, are his father and mother." As the text verbally reproduces the obelisk's heraldry, the painted figures on the

manuscript and wooden triptych visually reproduce the monument's imagery: coats of arms, hearts, and "true-love knottes."

Montagu's mapping of his son's death onto this dynastic record, however, struggles with the child's exclusion from that story. Henry Montagu did not have the chance to grow into virtue: the deeds celebrated by the manuscript are those of adult men. Although they are continually referred to the child by Montagu's insistent use of the possessive ("his grandfather . . . his great grandfather . . . his greate grandfathers father"), the pedigree paradoxically elides Henry's existence altogether. Montagu's own biography reads:

Sidney the sixth sonne now living . . . one of the master of Requestes to his Ma.^{tie}; whoe by Paulina Pepys . . . hath issue Eliza and Edward, whom god almightie blesse and preserve.

The manuscript devoted to the life and death of Henry Montagu argues that, in dynastic terms, his brief life is not worth mentioning. A child lost to history, he generates but stands entirely outside the genealogy that glosses his life. Part pedigree and part work of mourning, the manuscript delivers to posterity a memory of parental bereavement that reiterates and deepens the emotion expressed in Montagu's monumental inscriptions.

As the generative, but silent, sign at the center of this dynastic account, Henry Montagu is a specter whose presence is realized through the material remnants of his brief life. Most striking among these is the child's christening gown-cum-winding sheet:

The nethermost stone [of the monument] in forme of a sheet set wth true-love knottes, resembled the lawne sheet which covered the Childes head at his funerall (beeing the same which covered him to his Christening) and was set with true-love knottes of black Ribbins made by divers of his friends.⁵⁹

This sign of the child's Baptism is transformed into the symbol of his death by a literal work of mourning, the addition of black ribbons crafted into true-love knots. The object is so thoroughly endowed with meaning that Montagu is moved to represent it in the imagery of the monument, and again visually and textually in the manuscript. The garment's true-love knots are homespun, secular symbols of immortality: each black ribbon twists infinitely upon itself. They balance and counter the sacramental symbols of immortality in the monument's iconography. The memory of this deeply intimate work of mourning, a textile monument to childhood, love, and loss, occupies the central place in the Barnwell program.

Henry Montagu's linen sheet is, literally and figuratively, a buried artifact, resurrected to remember and make permanent the burial of a beloved child. Montagu's attachment to this object, his reluctance to surrender it to the grave, and his repeated recreations of the details of this material token of his son's incarnation express a father's blind devotion to his lost son, the original act of idolatry. The vestige of idolatry implicit in the linen sheet is clear in a remarkable story from the Homyly: when Epiphanius sees in the Church a linen cloth painted with Christ's image, he "dyd teare it, and gave counsell to the kepers of the Church, that they should wynde a poore man that was dead in the sayd cloth and bury him" (23-23v). This associative link between the painted idol and the winding sheet indicts Montagu's fetishistic treatment of the child's shroud, an over-valued object that joins physical corruption with the spiritual death of idolatrous desire.⁶⁰ When Montagu entombs the image of the winding sheet inside a wooden box of the same size as the niche where his son's effigy stands, the triptych becomes a coffin.

Although the manuscript repeats the parental grief expressed in the monument's inscriptions, Montagu attempts to read through the sorrowful palimpsest of childhood death to decipher the providential plot that makes sense of this brutal loss.

Montagu's textual monument aims not merely to contain the idolatrous sign but to re-imagine the memorial project by grounding it in the shared currency of sacred and secular signs. If the manuscript box is a grave, its opening promises a resurrection, if only at the fleshly hands of a mortal father.

The Barnwell monument forestalls idolatry by invoking a discretionary insight able to read the essence inside the object; to see in the dead effigy the animated symbol of resurrection. In Montagu's manuscript, he explores a similar project, but turns from the sacramental sign to the potent secular signs suffusing the story of his son's life. The four-line poem that begins and ends Montagu's meditation "upon the Birth and death of his deere sonne" is an exercise in insightful reading:

Midd may brought thee to a world of Flowers,
But Aprill drown'd thee wth to many Showers
Ascens[i]on day baptis'd thee Christian
Thursday rewasht thee to Ascend againe.

As Montagu uses the scripted pedigree to unfold the sculptural heraldry nearby, so he provides a marginal gloss to his poem that roots his imagery in historical record:

Thursday 16. May. 1622. Borne.

Much rayne falling Aprill: 1625 filled a Ponde w^{ch} wth a

Scoopet beeing by was supposed y^e occasion of his end.

Thursday Ascenc[i]on day Christened.

Thursday 28. Aprill: 1625 dyed.

All of the noteworthy events of Henry Montagu's life occurred on a Thursday, a detail that Montagu sees as far from coincidental. The poem returns to the monument's iconography to link the child's Baptism with his death: he is washed in Baptism on Holy Thursday, Ascension Day--a date that must have seemed both poignant and prescient in retrospect--and "rewasht" in drowning. Montagu's formal choice of two rhyming couplets produces a shifting chronology of the child's life: Henry's death is reported both before his christening and again afterward, as though the two events were one. When read as proof of divine providence, however, these repetitions and reversals matter little. In a biography that elides the life, birth and death are near-simultaneous events, unfolding within a woefully small number of inescapable Thursdays. The child's life is as brief and crafted as a quatrain.

As it collapses Henry Montagu's life and death into a single commemorative utterance, Montagu's poem achieves a fatal transformation of inert matter into potent signs. His memorial is written in a highly personal symbolic lexicon culled from the objects attending his son's life and death. This emblematic

exchange between object and sign transforms a mere thing into a "monument of superstition." These personal omens easily distract both eye and mind with a desire more difficult to counter, because more private and idiosyncratic, than the worship of religious idols. Such superstitions abound in the period, exploiting the juncture of the sacred and the secular. On her deathbed, the toddler Princess Mary Stuart amazed spectators when, "immediately before shee offered up her selfe . . . she cried, I goe, I goe. The more strange did this appeare to us that now at the last (as if directed by supernaturall inspiration) shee did so aptly utter these, and none but these."⁶¹ Like a prescient Desdemona, foreseeing her winding sheet in her marriage sheets, Frances, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond willed that her corpse should be "wrapt in those sheets wherein my lord and I first slept that night when we were married."⁶² Potent secular signs permeate daily life in the post-Reformation polity, while the collapse of religion's "silent rites" signals chaos in the commonwealth. When the cathedral at Peterborough was made "a ruthful Spectacle, a very Chaos of Desolation and Confusion," Gunton reports, two events, remarkable for their strangeness, took place. Two boys climbed up to the empty bell tower and slid down the ropes, much to their peril, but "it pleased God by a strange and wonderful

providence to preserve [them]." Shortly afterward, a "young lad" fell through the church ceiling while "rifling jack daws nests to get their young" and died, "his pockets filled with those inauspicious birds. These two things happened much about the same time, and in the time of that publick Confusion and Disorder."⁶³ If the miraculous salvation and ill-fated death of Peterborough's children are influenced by the vibrant ghost of the cathedral, so the manuscript entombed in a memory box at Barnwell is anchored in the potent absence of a vanished son.

As Montagu reproduces and glosses the signets that sealed his son's fate, counting and compiling meaningful Thursdays, he schools himself to submit to God's will. At the same time, though, he practices a private idolatry, superstitiously crafting his son's life and death into an artifact marking his absence and recalling his transient incarnation. The manuscript box argues that the private memories of the child's life--the wealth of meanings his small body accrued despite its brief existence--cannot be fully revealed in his emblematic tomb, yet are profoundly worthy of record. Montagu protects his son's memorials from becoming merely illegible signs, concealed within the unfathomable fabric of the silent church and cancelled from the record of history. His creation of an icon of paternal bereavement hopes to ensure the survival of the fond Statua

standing erect in its monumental niche and the fateful mementos stored in this "celle and closet of fancie" (Hooker, Lawes 160), the manuscript box.

Coda: True-love knottes

Montagu ends his manuscript with two proverbs; familiar citations that would have been signs of remembrance for discerning readers. From Ovid's Metamorphoses, Montagu borrows the tag, "Et genus et proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi / Vix ea nostra voco" ("For our birth, our ancestors, and things which we have not ourselves done--these things I can hardly call our own").⁶⁴ The last word of the memorial program turns from secular commentary on dynastic identity to scriptural reconsideration of true fatherhood: "Behold what love the father hath shewed unto us, that we should be called the sonnes of God" (John 3:1).

These twin mottos play out Montagu's engagement with an imagined posterity and, in equal measure, his resistance to public display. The Ovidian challenge to ancestral identity and privilege interprets Henry Montagu's elision from the record of his dynasty. What, finally, might a child dead at the age of three (or his mourning father) call his own? If the veneration of ancestors cannot justify an ostentatious tomb for a child, Montagu advances the affective value of a monument to promise

unrealized and potential overturned: his memorial is unapologetically a mausoleum for a fly. What Henry Montagu owned was a small number of days and objects attending an ordinary life, revealing themselves as significant only when that life was ended; tokens containing his essence and conveying it, reluctantly, to posterity. The manuscript box is a body whose form follows the function of its soul. It turns in on itself like a true-love knot, hiding from view those treasures it also reveals, as if these remnants too precious to share were vulnerable to depletion by use, liable to be spoiled by an abrasive gaze.

Montagu's turn to the sacred text, though, returns his memorial project to the public space of Barnwell's chancel. If Henry Montagu can claim nothing from his heritage--and his dynasty, conversely, could claim nothing from him--the verse from John reconsiders fatherhood in sacred rather than secular terms. The statement completes the competitive staging of paternities begun in the funeral monument, renewing the challenge posed by Henry Montagu's erect effigy as it walks, in imitation of Christ, triumphantly on water. It is hard to overlook the comparison between God's sacrifice of his son and Sidney Montagu's surrender of his. But here paternity is keyed to the collective: Henry Montagu's status as a son of God earns

him a place among his ancestors--distinguished not by their rank or deeds but by their faith--and among the community of worshippers in the chancel where his monument stands. In its final moment, Montagu's memorial program remembers the promise of the mandatum and re-imagines the privie conventicle, where a private death is mourned, as a Communion room, the site of collective remembrance of resurrected sons.

Notes

¹ Sir Thomas Browne, Pseudodoxia epidemica (London: T. H. for E. Dod, 1646), 82.

² Simon Gunton, History of the Church of Peterburgh (London: Richard Chiswell, 1686), 98.

³ Jonathan Gil Harris, Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 3.

⁴ Church of England, Homyly agaynst peryll of Idolatry and superfluous decking of Churches, in The Second Tome of Homelyes (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1563), 16v. Subsequent citations are to this edition and appear parenthetically.

⁵ As Eamon Duffy, Stripping of the Altars (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), has shown, distinctions between pre- and post-Reformation practice are not absolute. The Homyly, for example, is a bricolage of biblical and patristic sources. However, high churchmen from Hooker to Laud saw the laity's participation in Communion as a fundamental departure from Catholic practice: see G. W. O. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition (London: Faber and Faber, 1941), 38-83. The wall painting in Figure 1 quotes Romans 13:1-2. All biblical citations are to the King James version, Holy Bible (London: Robert Barker, 1611) and appear parenthetically.

⁶ Richard Hooker, Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. The fift Booke (London: John Windet, 1597), 20. Subsequent citations are to this edition and appear parenthetically.

⁷ Nicholas Ridley, quoted in George Yule, "James VI and I: Furnishing the Churches in his Two Kingdoms," in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Rogerts, eds., Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 187.

⁸ Yule, "James VI and I," 193.

⁹ John Strype, Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster (London: A. Churchill, et al., 1720), I.iii.191.

¹⁰ See Yule, "James VI and I," 201.

¹¹ See John Bridges, History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire (Oxford: D. Prince and J. Cooke, 1791), 2.214-16, on the original church building; and Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, Northamptonshire (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 102, on the current structure.

¹² See Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2009); Sarah Beckwith, "Stephen Greenblatt's Hamlet and the Forms of Oblivion" Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 33:2

(Spring 2003): 261-280; David Aers, "New Historicism and the Eucharist," Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 33:2 (Spring 2003): 241-59; Ken Jackson and Arthur Marotti, "The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies," Criticism 46:1 (Winter 2004): 167-90; and Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton, eds., Political Theology and Early Modernity (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012).

¹³ Quentin Skinner, Liberty before Liberalism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 112.

¹⁴ John Coffey and Alister Chapman, "Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion," in Seeing Things Their Way, 18, summarizing Mark A. Noll, "British Methodological Pointers for Writing a History of Theology in America," in Seeing Things Their Way, 202-25.

¹⁵ Quotations from the Barnwell memorial are transcribed from the objects on site. Sidney Montagu claims authorship of the manuscript and responsibility for the alabaster monument, but its execution and authorship of its iconography are less certain. The Barnwell manuscript and Montagu's "Valida Consolatio" (BL MS Add 28560) display the same hand, confirming that Montagu authored and executed both. He or his wife may have painted the images on the Barnwell manuscript box and parchment

or employed an arms painter to do so. The attribution of the monument to Gerard Christmas by K. A. Esdaile, English Church Monuments, 1510-1840 (London: Batsford, 1946), 123, has been persuasively challenged by Adam White, Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors, c. 1560-1660 (London: Walpole Society, 1999), 18-20. On stylistic grounds, the probable sculptor is William Wright: see White, Biographical Dictionary, 155. The painting on the monument base is evidently the work of a professional. On the activities of arms painters in the counties, see Anthony Wagner and George Squibb, "Deputy Heralds," in Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Marc Fitch by some of his Friends, ed. Frederick Emmison and Roy Stephens (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1976), 229-65. I am grateful to Robert Yorke for providing this article and for his generous comments on the manuscript box.

As collaborative works, monuments often cannot be firmly attributed to individual authors. My reading of the stone monument at Barnwell does not rest upon asserting Montagu's authorship or intentions. Rather, I describe a repertoire of conventional religious and affective signs embedded in the object that take part in the theological and doctrinal debates surrounding its creation.

¹⁶ Graham Hammill and Julia Lupton, "Sovereigns, Citizens, and Saints: Political Theology and Renaissance Literature," Religion and Literature 38:3 (Fall 2006): 1.

¹⁷ Aers, "New Historicism," 250, quoting Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, Practicing New Historicism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 81.

¹⁸ The paneling was installed by Ralph Montagu, 1st Duke of Montagu (d. 1709). Although his motives are undocumented, he was renowned for renovating his houses in Northamptonshire and Bloomsbury into architectural masterpieces. He may have intended, therefore, to beautify Barnwell All Saints rather than to conceal the manuscript box and piscina. See his biography in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁹ Interpretations of the sacraments as commemorative are not exclusively Protestant, but reformers, following Calvin, stressed this aspect of sacramental matter instead of asserting God's real presence. See John Philips, The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Huston Diehl, "Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England," Renaissance Quarterly 19 (1986): 49-66; and Jonathan Sheehan, "The Altars of

Idols: Religion, Sacrifice, and the Early Modern Polity," Journal of the History of Ideas 67:4 (October 2006): 653. On this idea as central for high churchmen, see Addleshaw, High Church Tradition, 177-84.

²⁰ Gunton, History, 334-35.

²¹ Hooker, Lawes, 25, 157, and 162.

²² Margaret Aston, England's Iconoclasts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 320-24, demonstrates that Elizabeth's edits of the Homyly largely redefined idols as "things indifferent."

²³ See Jonathan Sheehan, "Sacred and Profane: Idolatry, Antiquarianism and the Polemics of Distinction in the Seventeenth Century," Past & Present 192 (August 2006): 46-51.

²⁴ The apocryphal Book of Wisdom was ubiquitously cited by medieval writers in locating the origins of idolatry in euhemerism. See John Daniel Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Medieval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," Speculum 2 (1927): 397-410; and Shannon Gayk, Image, Text and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 126-34.

²⁵ Gunton, History, 337.

²⁶ "Prohibiting Destruction of Church Monuments" [Windsor, September 19, 1560, 2 Elizabeth 1], in Paul L. Hughes and James

F. Larkin, eds., Tudor Royal Proclamations (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964-1969), 2.146.

²⁷ Gunton, History, 336.

²⁸ Richard Brathwait, Essaies upon the Five Senses (London: E. Griffin for Richard Whittaker, 1620), 3. For an excellent discussion of medieval optics in relation to religious images, see Gayk, Image, Text and Religious Reform, 45-83.

²⁹ Brathwait, Essaies, 3 and 5.

³⁰ Walter Montagu, The copping of a letter sent from France by Mr. Walter Mountagu to his father the Lord Privie Seale, with his answere thereunto (London: s.n., 1641), 11 and 20. Manchester published one of the period's most popular ars moriendi shortly after his namesake's death: see Henry Montagu, Earl of Manchester, Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis [Manchester al mondo] (London: Robert Barker, 1631).

³¹ George Hakewill, The Vanitie of the Eie (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1608), A1 and 13.

³²BL Add MS 28560, Sidney Montagu, "Valida Consolatio."

Subsequent citations appear parenthetically.

³³ An estimate for repairs to the monument dated July 26, 1989 (Barnwell All Saints Church Survey, CARE 28/302, File 902, Doc. 902.1) states that the heraldry displayed original polychrome,

but restorers could not determine whether the effigy's paint was original. The estimate recommends repainting. There is no record that this work was done, but the bright coloring of the effigy's garments and natural stone of the face reflect modern tastes, and thus suggest repainting.

³⁴ Pevsner and Cherry, Northamptonshire, 102.

³⁵ Jean Calvin, A Harmonie upon the Three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, trans. Eusebius Pagit (London: Thomas Dawson, 1584), 312.

³⁶ Miles Coverdale, Fruitfull Lessons, upon the Passion, Buriall, Resurrection, Ascension, and of the Sending of the Holy Ghost (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1593), B4-B4v.

³⁷ Calvin, Harmonie, 312.

³⁸ Philip Stubbes, A Christal Glasse for Christian Women (London: T. Orwin for Richard Jones, 1592), C1v.

³⁹ William Hubbock, An Apologie of Infants in a Sermon (London: The Widow Orwin for Thomas Man, 1595), B5.

⁴⁰ George Jay, A Sermon Preacht at the Funerall of the Lady Mary Villiers (London: Thomas Harper, 1626), 45.

⁴¹ The dimensions of the manuscript box, piscina, and monumental niche are nearly identical.

⁴² Church of England, The Book of Common Prayer (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1662), G5.

⁴³ Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea sanctorum, trans. William Caxton (London: William Caxton, 1483), 370v.

⁴⁴ See Carole Levin, "'Would I Could Give You Help and Succour': Elizabeth I and the Politics of Touch," Albion 21 (1989): 191-205; and Caroline McManus, "Queen Elizabeth, Dol Common, and the Performance of the Royal Maundy," in The Mysteries of Elizabeth I: Selections from "English Literary Renaissance," ed. Kirby Farrell and Kathleen Swaim (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 43-66.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Levin, "'Would I Could,'" 203.

⁴⁶ TNA SP 70/84, ff. 202-203v, Sir Thomas Hoby to William Cecil, June 19, 1566.

⁴⁷ TNA SP 70/84, ff. 200-201, Sir Thomas Hoby to Queen Elizabeth I, June 19, 1566.

⁴⁸ See Levin, "'Would I Could;'" McManus, "Queen Elizabeth;" and William Shakespeare, Richard II, ed. Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1.2.250.

⁴⁹ McManus, "Queen Elizabeth," 46.

⁵⁰ McManus, "Queen Elizabeth," 45-48.

⁵¹ Quoted in McManus, "Queen Elizabeth," 65.

⁵² Quoted in McManus, "Queen Elizabeth," 44; and see the surrounding discussion, 43-46, on the resale of royal gifts.

⁵³ Sir Philip Hoby (d. 1558) received Bisham Abbey and a house in Blackfriars and bequeathed both to Thomas: see Victoria County History, History of the County of Berkshire, ed. P. H.

Ditchfield and William Page (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), 3.139-52. Sir Edward Montagu (d. 1557) received properties belonging to the late monastery of Thorney: see Victoria County History, History of the County of Northampton, ed. William Page (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), 3.101-109.

⁵⁴ Sir Julius Caesar, "Notes touching suits," quoted in R. W. Hoyle, "Masters of Requests and the Small Change of Jacobean Patronage," English Historical Review 520 (June 2011): 563.

⁵⁵ Sidney Montagu was appointed master extraordinary in February 1616, and was knighted in July. He became one of the four masters in ordinary in 1618. From 1616 to 1639 he received an annuity of £100 for his service. See "Institute of Historical Research, Office Holders, Masters of Requests," <http://www.history.ac.uk/publications/office/masters>. I am grateful to Tony Collins for his comments on this subject and for his careful reading of several versions of this article.

⁵⁶ Hoyle, "Masters of Requests," 563.

⁵⁷ BL Add MS 15632, "Proceedings and Order of the Privy Council upon a petition of the Masters of Requests, 3 Aug. 1662," 45; see also Hoyle, "Masters of Requests," 557.

⁵⁸ James I, King of England, 1566-1625, Basilikon doron (London: Felix Kyngston for John Norton, 1603), 46.

⁵⁹ Montagu's manuscript states that the linen sheet is depicted on the monument's "nethermost stone," but the true-love knots appear in the register above the effigy's niche. Both the base and the urn atop the monument are painted with ribbons. The base may reproduce a heraldic design originally painted or embroidered on the child's christening garment, and/or the whole monument may figure a shroud tied at the crown.

⁶⁰ On the fetish in early modern object theory, see Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, "Fetishisms and Renaissances," in Historicism, Psychoanalysis, and Early Modern Culture, ed. Carla Mazzio and Douglas Trevor (London: Routledge, 2000), 20-35; and John Parker, "What a Piece of Work Is Man: Shakespearean Drama as Marxian Fetish, the Fetish as Sacramental Sublime," Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 34:3 (Fall 2004): 643-672.

⁶¹ Jeremy Leech, Sermon Preached . . . At the Funerall of the Most Excellent & Hopefull Princess, the Lady Marie's Grace (London: H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Samuel Macham, 1607), 41.

⁶² See William Shakespeare, Othello, ed. Michael Neill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.3.21-24; and J. L. Chester, The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster (London: Harleian Society, 1876), 133n7.

⁶³ Gunton, History, 337-38.

⁶⁴ Ovid, Metamorphoses, Books IX-XVI, trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library 43 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916), 13.140.